2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

In Spanish days, however, it was the individual who was punished and usually by whipping. It is hard to be positive that whipping is a foreign institution yet it seems likely since the Papago are chary of physical contact especially in public. This may seem surprising in a society where ten or more people could live and sleep in a one-room house, but one may conjecture that it is an avoidance generated by that very fact. They maneuver without touching one another where Europeans, who have more privacy, are continually doing so. They did not, anciently, slap or whip children. It is to be expected that a people with this attitude would object to corporal punishment, particularly when they have cultivated such a violent sensitiveness and openness to humiliation. The missionaries, on the contrary, whipped their neophytes as they would whip the children they considered them to be. That the Papago should have been willing to adopt this system is the surprising thing. We may lay it to the extreme prestige of these givers of wheat and horses, and also to the fact that the native selected to dispense whipping felt himself raised to the supernatural power of the priests. Certainly the institution of whipping grew, from the eight stripes delivered by the *alcalde* for drunkeness or absence from mass to a standardized penalty for all misdemeanors, sometimes including murder. Those which were mentioned as always whipped fall under the heading of sins in the Christian sense. A list of these offenses and their penalties follow:

Murder: The chief would have the murderer whipped and force him to make restitution in property.

Adultery: Both offenders whipped and the wife sent back to her husband.

Quarrels between spouses: Either a wife or a husband might complain of the other's laziness, cruelty or light conduct and have the offender whipped.

Disobedience of children: Parents might complain of laziness or light conduct, particularly in a daughter, or of her disobedience in not taking a husband. Some cases are reported where the chief felt that the parents had been in the wrong and had them whipped instead of the child.

Slander: All reports of misconduct were investigated and if, they proved untrue, those who had spread the rumor were whipped, whether male or female.

There follows a provision heard from only one informant and showing an interesting combination of the old and the new systems.

> If a father failed to have the puberty ceremony for his daughter at the proper time, he should be whipped. If he proved that he had not been told, the mother was punished instead. (28)

17:Castetter & Underhill N,E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
NU28 Papago NU28

CEREMONIAL OBJECTS AND PRACTICES

The Papagos make a number of rather crude ceremonial objects which ritual demands must be thrown away after each ceremony. Masks are made of half a gourd *(Lagenaria vulgaris)* tied with buckskin thongs and covering only the eyes and nose of the wearer. The face is crudely painted on it with clay, and small perforations made for seeing and breathing. A more valuable mask, kept from year to year, is that belonging to the hereditary clown. It is made of white buckskin, bag shaped, the closed end of which comes at the top of the wearer's head and the open fringed end to his shoulders. A small face is painted on it with blue soot from creosote bush wood *(Covillea glutinosa)*.

The body is often ceremonially marked with clay colored yellow with a decoction of dandelion flowers *(Taraxacum officinale)*.

Fetishes were made on various occasions: for the *vikita* or harvest festival, for the *te'ĭrkona*, or visiting dance, when a visiting village entertained its hosts before racing with them; and for a ceremony to insure the growth of wild crops. These effigies were usually made to illustrate the content of a dream. For the *vikita* there were hereditary dream singers who every four years produced a new series of songs and ordered the making of some object to illustrate them. There was a standard range of subjects, including clouds, deer, corn, squash, mountains, and sea birds, though an inventive author sometimes provided a new subject like a mythical monster.

Very little material was available for these structures but they showed considerable extempore invention. A framework was made of ocotillo rods *(Fouquieria splendens)* tied together with thongs, and on this could be draped white buckskins to represent clouds, or reddish dyed ones for mountains. The facsimiles were mounted on a wicker frame of sahuaro ribs *(Carnegia gigantea)*. Large white birds were made on a skeleton of ocotillo ribs covered with raw cotton. Squash effigies were contrived from ocotillo

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[For the author's predictions and projections on the future of Papago migratory farm labor (employment and wage levels, recruiting and labor relations, labor camp living conditions and sanitary facilities) in view of probable technological and economic changes in regional commercial agriculture, see category 116, pp. 99-135.]

464 361 a second camp because their fields were located in widely separated areas. Some observed that they had less trouble in their labor camps when different ethnic groups lived in separate camps, so built smaller separated camps instead of a single large one. Some just happened to have more than one camp because they'd purchased land with more than one.

464 361 362 Regardless of the number of camps a farmer owned, or where they were located in the two counties, what has been said of housing for migrant labor elsewhere in the U. S. applies to Pima and Pinal counties, Arizona.

> "Migrants have little choice in the matter of housing. They must accept whatever shelter is available in the area in which they seek employment. Tents, make-shift shelters, broken-down one-room cabins, converted chicken coops, deserted farm houses, long rows of unpainted one-room cabins, old barns and other farm buildings provide 'homes' for thousands of migratory workers. In most instances, the occupants eat and sleep in one room--cook their meals either in this room or in a nearby cook shack and sleep on bunks or on straw thrown upon the floor. Overcrowding and unsanitary conditions add to the health hazards, endangering both the migrant workers themselves and the communities in which these conditions are permitted to exist."[1]

464 484 The lack of choice is especially true for Papagos and other migrants to southern Arizona's cotton harvest because they are mostly hauled from their homes to labor camps by the farmers, and lack transportation of their own. They must live within walking distance of their work or be hauled to it.

060 Most of southern Arizona's cotton barons haven't been growing white gold very long, but joined with their near-kin in California and New Mexico, they are dethroning King Cotton in the South and enthroning him west of the Pecos river. They probably are going to be raising cotton a long time. So the progress they have made in solving their production problems is of more than passing interest.

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[1] Federal Interagency Committee on Migrant Labor, 1947, p. 20.

362 [466] Not the least of their problems is harvesting. Until such time as they completely mechanize their harvest, the housing they provide for their pickers is of vital concern to the pickers and the communities where the white gold miners operate. By comparing the actual situation in 1950 with the labor-camp code suggested by the Federal Interagency Committee on Migrant Labor in 1947, we can see how near southern Arizona farmers are to a standard likely to be considered reasonable and desirable by most Americans.[1]

SITES

361 362 This suggested camp code to be used as a standard with which to compare southern Arizona camps reads:

"Article 1. Site, Selection, and Maintenance

"(a) All sites used for labor camps shall be located upon high well-drained ground. They shall not be subject to periodic flooding, or located adjacent to swamps or marshes which might have adverse effects upon the health of the occupants. Camps shall not be located on sites which are subject to extreme traffic hazards. No labor camps shall be located on the water-shed of a domestic water supply.

"Where corrals or stables exist, or where large animals are maintained in connection with any camp, the quarters for any animals shall be separated from the camp.

"(b) All sites shall be adequate in size to prevent overcrowding of buildings.

"(c) All sites shall be graded, ditched, and rendered free from depressions in which water may stand...Where sand or dust create problems, provision shall be made for stabilising the soil or maintaining satisfactory cover crops.

"(d) The grounds and open areas surrounding the shelters shall be maintained in a clean and sanitary condition free from rubbish, debris, waste paper, garbage, etc."[2]

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[1] The Federal Interagency Committee on Migrant Labor was headed by Maj. Gen. G. B. Erskine, USMC, and included representatives of Dept. of Agriculture, Dept. of Labor, Federal Security Agency, Interstate Commerce Commission, National Housing Agency, and Railroad Retirement Board. Federal Interagency Committee on Migrant Labor, 1947, p. ii.

[2] Ibid., p. 39-40.

361 Drainage (a) is no problem in southern Arizona be-
362 cause of the lack of rainfall. Even after a summer
[312] cloudburst the ground dries out for all practical pur-
[23] poses in a day. And the domestic water of the region comes from underground, so there is no question of locating camps on a watershed. In this study no large animals were found in any of the labor camps visited, except for a couple where Papago horse owners had brought mounts to camp, and kept them out in the fields on pasture.

Overcrowding camp sites (b) is another matter. It is difficult to define overcrowding in view of the small number of activities carried on in labor camps during picking season. But a number of southern Arizona camps are sandwiched between a road in front and a field fence behind, without space to drive a car between the rows of cabins. The average distance between dwelling units in Pima and Pinal county labor camps is some 25 to 30 feet.[1] In camps built of concrete blocks, the units are usually arranged in a straight line as apartments without space between. Often tents are spaced with only a yard between. Some spacious camps, on the other hand, leave 60 or 75 feet between units. Always a family's neighbors are very much present in Pima and Pinal county labor camps, however. Quarrels, and indeed most of the ordinary events of living, are quite audible next door. Privacy is difficult to achieve.

13 Since the valleys where cotton is grown in this re-
361 gion are already quite level, grading (c) isn't necessary. In fact, it would only aggravate the dust problem, which is acute. For the sandy soils of Pima and Pinal counties cannot support much vegetation on the scanty rainfall. The open soil blows readily. Heavy winds in the cotton growing areas stop traffic on main highways regularly each year while the plants are small and cannot hold the soil--the dust load in the air becomes simply too thick to see through.

362 Labor camps are located beside roads for ease of ac-
[361] cess. Except for a few along main highways which are
[363] paved, camps are covered with a thick dust coat every time a vehicle drives by, throwing up a high cloud of dirt behind. In dry, dusty air harvesters work, eat and sleep.

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[1] 30 feet in 14 Pima county camps, and 25 in 22 Pinal county camps visited in this study (estimated distances.)

362 361 At dusk when breezes are still and hundreds of trucks and cars have returned from the fields to labor camps, stirring up dirt roads, a choking dust pall rises all over the cotton growing valleys. The picker gets his last view of the distant mountains each night through this low hanging dust cloud.

[312] Probably because of the permanent water shortage in both counties, none of the cotton farmers has seen fit to plant cover crops on his labor camp grounds. Nor have any farmers been concerned enough over dust problems to oil either section line roads or camp grounds.

SOCIAL CONTROLS IN LABOR CAMPS

466 361 364 Apparently the main desire of many cotton farmers is to have as little to do with their labor camps as possible. This is reflected in the generally messy appearance of the uncared-for grounds in unsupervised camps. It is a rare camp without cotton or tin cans or paper or garbage or all four scattered about.

186 361 364 However, lack of supervision is not the only reason southern Arizona labor camp grounds are generally messy looking and not very hygienic. One primary reason for dirty camps is their very nature. Their population is temporary and transient, without any sentimental ties to or pride in the camps. As a result, laborers simply do not care about the appearance of camps, and do not bother to keep them clean. It is interesting to note the exceptional labor camps in the region where workers are employed on a year-round basis, and have time to form some attachment to the camp. Even if these year-round workers must live in tents, they make some attempt to beautify the camp grounds. They try to grow a patch of lawn, or a few straggling castor bean plants, or a rose or some iris—and they keep the grounds around their dwellings neat and clean. An urge to grow something seems especially strong among the Desert People and the Mexican-Americans.

621 361 364 Besides this factor of length of residence in labor camps, there is another aspect of social organization involved in so many camps being dirty—with operators having a difficult time coercing residents into cleaning them up. This is the fact there is no real social organization extending through the whole camp. The laborers are a miscellaneous lot generally hired as they come

19: Dobyns E-5 (1950) 1951 NU28 Papago NU28

[Housing in Southern Arizona Labor Camps]

CONSTRUCTION

362 The quality of housing in southern Arizona labor camps is most variable, although it would surprise a person who had not visited the area since depression years of the 1930's. The labor camp code suggested as a standard of comparison requires:

> "Article 2. Shelter, Standards, and Maintenance
> "(a) Every building, tent, barracks, or living quarters in the camp shall be constructed in a substantial manner and shall provide shelter to the occupants against the elements and exclude dampness in inclement weather."[1]

PIMA COUNTY

The most durable, presentable-looking, and weather-proof labor housing in either county is made of concrete blocks. Only about a tenth of the camps in Pima county have housing constructed of such material,[2] and only half these house all camp residents in block structures.

Adobe houses properly plastered are almost as durable as concrete block structures, and are actually more comfortable in extremes of heat or cold because of the insulating qualities of earthen walls. About a fifth of the labor camps in the county utilize some adobe, but none uses only adobe,[3] apparently.

Without artificial cooling provisions, adobe and concrete block structures are the best construction feasible in southern Arizona to give comfort under the blazing summer sun when irrigators and choppers live in the camps. A few camps with wooden siding-and-frame housing are adequate against the relatively mild cold of fall and early winter, but are far hotter and more uncomfortable during hot weather than adobe or block structures. The vast majority of the wood cabins do not appear to be even rain-proof, however. They would make fair chicken houses for southern Arizona, where well-feathered chickens need minimum protection. But they aren't even built tightly enough for chickens in regions of severe winter climate. Insulating qualities of such houses are nil--they provide shade, but cut off any breeze.

[1] Federal Interagency Committee on Migrant Labor, 1947, p. p. 40.
[2] 2 camps of 15 giving information (48.0% of estimated total cotton in county) or 15.8%.
[3] 3 of 15 camps on which information was obtained.

[Housing in Southern Arizona Labor Camps]

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Some form of siding-and-frame construction was used in about two-thirds of Pima county's camps in 1950. Half these camps offered inhabitants only siding-and-frame cabins.[1] Except for a few tightly built camps of painted, better quality siding, these were quite uniformly 1x10 or 1x12 knotty siding, unpainted.[2] They were poorly built with sizeable cracks between the boards. A tall man couldn't stand straight in some without bumping his head.

Many Pima county camps were camps in more than name in 1950--they were just that. Migrants living in them had to camp out in tents. Over half the cotton farmers in the county seem to have used some tents to house workers and just as many labor camps consisted of tents only as had concrete block structures.[3]

PINAL COUNTY

In the main cotton raising area of the state, primary reliance for housing harvest labor lies on siding-and-frame construction. About 4 of 5 labor camps had wood cabins in 1950, and 3 of the 5 used no other kind of labor housing.[4]

However, the smart operators in Pinal county are also bigger than those in Pima on the whole, and had progressed considerably farther in building permanent labor housing by 1950. Perhaps a third of the camps in this county had concrete block structures, although only half the camps provided with some of this optimum housing managed to house all residents in it.[5]

Tents were used much less frequently here than in Pima county, in only about a tenth of the camps in 1950. Less thana twentieth seem to have forced pickers to live in tents or nothing.[6]

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[1] 10 of 15 camps studied had siding-and-frame cabins; 5 of the 15 had only siding-and-frame cabins.
[2] Of 29 wooden-construction camps in both counties, 9 were painted and 3 plastered--some 40%.
[3] 8 of the 15 camps, 53%, used tents; 2 had only tents, 13%.
[4] 19 camps of 24 studied, 79% had wood cabins; 15 or 63% had only wood cabins.
[5] 8 of the 24 camps, 33% had concrete block housing; but only 4 of them housed all residents in such structures.
[6] 3 of the 24 camps used tents, or 12.5%; but only 1 of them offered pickers only tents.

19: Dobyns E-5 (1950) 1951 NU28 Papago NU28

[Housing in Southern Arizona Labor Camps]

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A few Papagos live in labor camps with stout cabins made of concrete blocks . . .

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Some live in comfortable remodeled barracks . . .

But most live in board cracker boxes . . . (few have gas like this one and less than half were ever painted) . . .

and many live in true camps . . . tents . . .

[Housing in Southern Arizona Labor Camps]

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Probably the short time most of the farms in Pinal county have been reclaimed from the desert accounts for the dearth of adobe structures in labor camps there. This material was used much less than in Pima county--in less than a twentieth of the camps apparently.[1]

If the suggested labor camp code being referred to as a standard had been adopted by the state of Arizona, quite obviously most of the cotton farmers would be violating this section. It is equally sure none would ever be convicted by a jury of his peers--for the peers in this area are all just as guilty.

Another factor to consider is the interior arrangement of labor housing. The suggested labor camp code we are citing sets the standard:

> "(b) All buildings, tents, or other structures serving as living quarters for families shall provide separate sleeping quarters for the parents and children."[2]

In siding-and-frame labor housing in Southern Arizona this condition virtually does not exist. In a few instances where barracks sold as war-surplus from one of the temporary airfields or the Gila River Relocation Center have been remodeled for labor housing, each family has more than one room. A few smaller growers who farm on a life-time basis provide their workers with multi-roomed, well-equipped housing. But in the labor camps of big cotton plungers, each family eats, sleeps, and does all its living in one bare room.

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Aside from the problem of privacy in labor camps is the matter of adequate breathing space. Of course, these rural slums are open to unlimited sky, but what of the cabins themselves? Our standard of comparison is:

> "(c) In shelters occupied by single family groups, rooms used for sleeping purposes shall provide at least 400 cubic feet of air space per person.
> "(d) In all shelters providing sleeping accomodations not less than 50 square feet of floor area with at least a 7-foot 6-inch ceiling shall be provided for each person."[3]

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[1] Only 1 camp of 24 studied had adobe structures.
[2] Federal Interagency Committee on Migrant Labor, 1947, p. 40.
[3] Ibid., p. 40.

[Housing in Southern Arizona Labor Camps]

●362 In Pinal county the room each family in a labor camp used averaged in 1950 approximately 15 x 18 feet, with a roof in no case lower than some 8 feet.[1] This size room gave the average-sized Papago family in the camps sufficient air and floor space. A family of 5, slightly above the Papago average, had over 450 cubic feet of air per person, and about 54 square feet of floor space. Sleeping conditions were satisfactory for most of the Desert People picking cotton.

However in Pima county labor housing fell down in this respect because average cabin size was smaller—only about 12 x 15 feet.[2] An Indian family of 5 had only about 290 cubic feet of breathing space and 36 feet of floor space per person, and families of 4 still had less than the recommended amount—380 cubic feet of air and 45 square feet of floor space. Labor housing in Pima county was built too small for an average Papago family to get adequate air at night, and there is no reason to believe the size of the average Spanish-speaking family in the camps is any less. Fortunately, the cabins do not need to be closed up until about the middle of picking season.

Another aspect of ventilation and comfort in a house is its window space. The suggested labor camp code calls for

> "(i) All living quarters other than tents shall be provided with windows equal to one-eighth of the floor area, one-half of which shall be so constructed that they may be open for purposes of ventilation."[3]

To have this amount of window space, the average Pima county camp cabin would need a window 4 feet 9 inches square, and the average Pinal county cabin would need one 5 feet 10 inches square. Few cabins have windows of such large dimensions. The only labor housing in either county meeting such a standard had 2 windows in each room. Only about a fifth of the camps provided cabins with 2 windows in 1950.[4] An occasional camp had only window-less cabins.

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[1] Based on data on 21 labor camps.
[2] Based on data from 16 camps.
[3] Federal Interagency Committee on Migrant Labor, 1947, p. 40.
[4] 2 of 10 camps in Pima county studied were so built.

[Housing in Southern Arizona Labor Camps]

0362 What do cotton pickers sleep on in southern Arizona labor camps? Their beds often do not meet the standard of the suggested labor camp code we are comparing with:

> "(e) Beds, cots, or bunks shall be provided in every room used for sleeping purposes. Every such bed or bunk shall be raised at least 12 inches from the floor. There shall be not less than 20 inches clear space extending from the floor to the ceiling between each bed, cot or bunk. The employer shall have available for use by workers mattresses or ticks ....."[1]

Most of the Desert People in southern Arizona camps in 1950 slept on metal beds. Some used full-size iron bed steads, but generally Papago pickers slept on ½ or 3/4 size iron cots or beds. These were made up with adequate blankets and quilts brought by the Desert People from their homes.

But some of them were not so fortunate--some slept on the ground. The practice in equipping labor camps with beds and other furniture varies tremendously among cotton growers. Some purchase stoves and bedsteads which they rent to contractors who must pay for loss and breakage. Some provide only bedsteads. Some provide a cabin, which may or may not have electricity, without any furnishings. All growers apparently furnish their labor camps with a supply of firewood. While cotton farmers pump their irrigation water in several hundred cases with natural gas operated engines,[2] only a handful provided gas in their labor camps--and the workers themselves frequently paid for it then.

So far a very important part of a house hasn't been mentioned--the floor. Most people expect a house to have a floor, and the suggested labor camp code calls for floors:

> "(f) Except where expressly exempted... the floors of each building used as living quarters, shall be constructed of wood, asphalt, concrete, or other material acceptable

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[1] Federal Interagency Committee on Migrant Labor, 1947, p. 40.

[2] 800 in Pinal county by 1949. (Barr, 1949, p. 4).

19: Dobyns E-5 (1950) 1951 NU28 Papago NU28

[Housing in Southern Arizona Labor Camps]

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A remade made living more bearable...

The Desert People have learned to lock their cabins while they work.

Most Papagos slept on cots . . . some on the ground.

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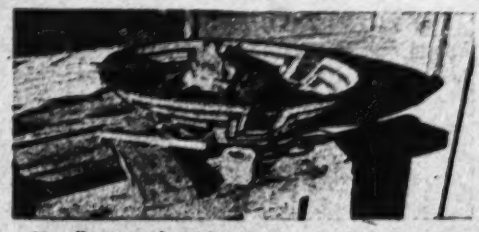

Usually camp furnishings were Anglo materials . . . scissors and thread, a comb . . . but some Papago material culture persisted . . . corn, and a willow and devil's claw basket.

[Housing in Southern Arizona Labor Camps]

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to the department....Wooden floors shall be constructed of planed tongue-and-groove boards. All concrete or asphalt floors shall be of a smooth finish and properly sloped to drain. The floor of all living quarters shall be kept in good repair and if any floor is broken or has such cracks or knot holes that it cannot be kept in a dry and sanitary condition it shall be repaired or replaced by a new floor."[1]

There probably isn't a wood floor in a southern Arizona labor camp made with tongue-and-groove boards, so they are nearly all sub-standard. Concrete floors in camp cabins made of concrete blocks appear to be good floors meeting any reasonable standard. But in the rest of the camp housing, floors are either sub-standard or non-existent. Many camp houses have no floors at all save the original earth of the camp site. Adobe housing, wood housing, and tents were found with wood floors in the course of this study.

In the siding-and-frame cabins which have floors, they were made of the same material as the walls, liberally supplied with large knot holes, and leaving wide cracks between boards.

[466] In summary, it may be said that southern Arizona's farm commodity politicians regard their farm labor as just a necessary evil in the rocky path of cotton riches. Their on the whole anti-social attitude is accurately reflected in the poor quality of the housing they provide for their harvest hands. Generally--there are exceptions for the better, of course--this housing is not well located, subject to extreme dust problems which are uncontrolled; the cabins are mostly substandard in construction, with inadequate window space and frequently too small for proper ventilation or adequate floor space, or even floors.

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[1] Federal Interagency Committee on Migrant Labor, 1947, p. 40.

19: Dobyns E-8 (1950) 1951 NU28 Papago NU28

[Arizona Labor Camps]

SANITATION

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The lack of floors, adequate ventilation, etc., in many southern Arizona labor camps raises a question of sanitation. How healthful are these temporary towns?

The ease with which flies can get at the inhabitants and their food is one critical factor in sanitation. The suggested labor camp code states the condition most Americans would want were they living in these camps:

> "(j) All exterior openings shall be effectively screened with at least 16-mesh per square inch material. All screen doors shall be outward-opening."[1]

Pickers working in Pima county have about 70% screen protection on their windows. But this doesn't mean they are protected from flies, since most cotton farmers haven't invested in screen doors--they put board doors on their cabins. Actually only about 40% of the camps in the county in 1950 had both windows and doors screened.[2]

In Pinal county the fly situation was even worse, with only a fair majority of the cotton plungers housing their labor behind screened windows in 1950, and a meager tenth supplying screen doors.[3]

Labor camp owners are quite vociferous in placing a good share of blame for bad fly conditions on their migrant employees. They say pickers kick out doors and windows for firewood when it's cold, and don't care about flies. They remark especially about lack of concern among their Indian employees over flies.

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To a certain extent, this is a defense and a rationalization. But much of it is really accurate observation. The Desert People are not fly-conscious as are Anglos who have hygiene and fly-phobias drilled into them from an early age by parents and school teachers.

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[1] Federal Interagency Committee on Migrant Labor, 1947, p. 40.
[2] Based on examination of 10 camps, 7 with screened windows, 4 with screened doors.
[3] Based on examination of 19 camps, 11 with screened windows (58%) and 2 with screened doors (11%).

[Arizona Labor Camps]

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825 In visiting labor camps in the course of this study, the writer saw Papago babies lying on the ground on a blanket in the shade of a camp cabin with flies in
[854] clusters at their eyes and nostrils while the mother went about her work. Papago women were seen cooking
[252] with flies buzzing freely around, and the daily pot
[262] of frijoles often sat on a spotless oilcloth table cover with flies zooming in through an open door to the feast.

751/ In fact, in the heat of late Arizona summer and
362 early fall--the serious fly season--the doors of labor
825 camp cabins are closed only when no one is in the cabin. Every breath of air is precious in the oppressive heat. This is true among the Desert People even when they live in excellent concrete block cabins with spacious screened windows and screen doors. They seem to hold a somewhat Steinish concept that a door is a door is a door, whether wood or screen, and they prop open a screen door to let in air just as they would a wooden door.

[65] This all points to the big job the Indian Bureau school and medical service still must do in educating Papago mothers and children to the dangers of the ordinary housefly.

That lack of cabin screening, and Papago lack of knowledge of its necessity is really serious in the labor camps is convincingly shown by other sanitary conditions--or their lack--in these rural slum towns.

TOILET FACILITIES

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[466] Whatever the construction of houses in their camps, Pima and Pinal county labor camp operators provide very much the same kind of toilet facilities. In fact, they are almost unanimous in digging a pit and erecting over it the unpainted, rustic outhouse of folklore. Over 95% of the camps in the area exhibit outhouses as alike as boards sawed from the same log.[1] A few long established farmers making a life-time career of their land provided plumbing for their laborers--significant chiefly for proving that it can be done.[2] They had small cotton plantings and hired few pickers.

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[1] Based on: 20 of 21 camps in Pinal county and 22 of 23 in Pima, or 95½%.

[2] Basis: 1 of 21 in Pinal and 1 of 23 in Pima county, 4½%.

[Arizona Labor Camps]

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> medical care. Thus, standards for both our 'good neighbors' and for our enemies are far higher than for our own countrymen."[1]

514 466 Certainly sanitary facilities in former prisoner-of-war camps in southern Arizona are far better than any built for American workers. Outhouses built under the Geneva Convention were large and airy, with half one side tightly screened, and the buildings were built well. The difference between the outhouses they build for their own countrymen and those they built for their wartime enemies is eloquent testimony as to the labor-be-damned attitude of southern Arizona cotton farmers, and to their eager quest after the dollars brought by their white gold. This difference is also vivid evidence of the benefits harvest laborers can derive from having an official protector. American migrant workers are protected by no Geneva Convention. They need one.

466 362 A further comment on a-social attitudes of Pima and Pinal county cotton growers is that at the time, the housing they built for war prisoners was the best yet constructed in the region for field laborers—concrete block had not yet come into use, being a post-war development. Although constructed for single men, war-time barracks have been converted for family use by American harvest hands. Where they have been maintained, these barracks or similar ones from airfields when refurbished are the best labor-housing constructed of wood in southern Arizona.

514 The extent to which outhouses in labor camps in the region fall short of desirable standards is easily discerned by a glance at our suggested labor camp code:

> "Article 4. Toilet Facilities
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> "(a) Separate toilet rooms containing water closets or privies shall be provided for each sex and shall be distinctly marked 'for men' and 'for women' by signs printed in English and in the native language of the persons occupying the camp. No person shall be allowed to use or frequent a toilet room or water closet assigned to the opposite sex.
>
> "(b) The number of water closets or privies provided for each sex shall be based

[1] U. S. Department of Labor, 1945, (no paging).

19: Dobyns E-5 (1950) 1951 NU28 Papago NU28

[Arizona Labor Camps]

SAFETY

362 Germs are hardly the only threats to life and well-being in southern Arizona labor camps. There are all the diseases that do not require an insect transmitter besides those carried by flies, and there is fire, which man has put to work for him but never completely mastered. The suggested labor camp code we are using to measure Arizona camps has a section covering safety provisions:

> "(a) All buildings or structures of a camp in which persons are housed must conform to all applicable standards with respect to fire protection. Where no adequate standards relating to fire protection exist, the commissioner...shall, in cooperation with the appropriate officials, set up standards for the protection of the camp occupants against fire. Each structure in which six or more people congregate or sleep shall have two doors located at opposite ends of the structure. Such exits shall not be blocked.
>
> "(b) Units of fire-extinguishment equipment shall be so located that a person will not have to travel more than 100 feet from any point to reach the nearest unit and at least 1 unit shall be provided for each 1,000 square feet of floor space.
>
> "(d) If chemical fire-fighting equipment cannot be provided, 1 open barrel containing 50 gallons of water, with 2 fire pails attached, will be considered as constituting 1 unit of fire-extinguishment equipment."[1]

362 466 Pima and Pinal county cotton farmers gamble with human life in this respect as they frequently do by their failure to house their harvest laborers in sanitary camps. Labor camps with chemical fire-fighting equipment are so rare as to be virtually non-existent. The only 50 gallon open barrels of water for fire protection noticed in the course of this study were located at the ends of long rows of baled cotton in storage yards of cotton gins. White gold is money, but if a laborer dies

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[1] Federal Interagency Committee on Migrant Labor, 1947, p. 43.

[Arizona Labor Camps]

362 in a labor camp fire the grower isn't out anything but
466 a picker who can be quickly replaced.

Fires do take an annual toll in labor camps. They
165 destroy the young: William West, who burned to death when a gas stove exploded in a labor camp, was only 2½.[1] They destroy without regard to occasion: Cecil Spikes, in his middle thirties, died in a labor camp fire on Christmas Day, 1950.[2]

362 To a person who has seen many southern Arizona labor camps, the wonder is that there has not yet been a camp holocaust catching pickers in bed at night and wiping out an entire camp's population. Camp operators have taken almost no precautions against such a catastrophe. Even camps with a number of water hydrants would be at the mercy of an intense fire, for hydrants are seldom equipped with hoses that would put water close enough to a blaze to be effective. Buckets and pans are the labor camp resident's first line of fire defense--and almost his only line.

466 A definite threat to life and limb exists in labor camps in the form of unstable migrant workers, who are largely uncontrolled by any real supervisory authority. In Pima county about a third of the camps were totally unsupervised in 1950. Most of the rest were checked periodically by the farmers, and rarely camps were under supervision by a labor contractor.[3] In Pinal county farmers showed much less concern about what went on in their labor camps in 1950. Less than a fifth of the camps seem to have been under direct supervision by a grower or his wife. Just about a third of the camps were left to the care of a foreman, and an equal proportion were kept under more or less control by a contractor. In a few cases the foreman was a Papago Indian in charge of other Papagos. A few labor camps were completely without supervision of any sort.[4]

[578] General lack of farmer supervision over camps, combined with lack of efficient rural law enforcement in both counties by sheriff's offices in 1950 allowed tension ridden camps far too high an incidence of violence.

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[1] Arizona Daily Star, Nov. 29, p. 13a.
[2] Casa Grande Dispatch, Dec. 28.
[3] Based on information from 18 camps.
[4] Based on information from 15 camps.

19: Dobyns E-5 (1950) 1951 NU28 Papago NU28

[Arizona Labor Camps]

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578 A glance at newspaper files gives examples of the physical danger labor camp residents live under. George Butler, a farm worker, was knifed in the throat in a roadside tavern by another cotton picker in Pinal county.[1] Leonard Baker was shot outside the tent he shared with a common-law wife in a Pima county camp.[2] The mystery surrounding the death of a Papago man found on the desert in Pinal county remains unsolved at this writing.

The Eloy area is infamous for its deaths by violence in recent years of cotton field expansion. Cotton picker Alonzo Davis is in the Arizona State Prison after killing a friend in a labor camp in a drunken stupor.[3] Another cotton picker beat a drinking companion's brains out with a pipe to rob him.[4] An itinerant harvester accused the postmaster of witholding his mail, and gunned him down on the street before being slain by a wounded deputy sheriff.[5] And these are only examples.

[839] Death is not the only form of violence the non-aggressive Desert People face in labor camps. A 14 year old Papago school girl was raped by 3 men who seized her as she carried home her groceries one night in 1952.[6]

COSTS

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466 In spite of their great dependence on hands living in their labor camps, southern Arizona farmers don't invest much in labor efficiency in the form of good labor housing in their camps. This fact is obvious to anyone driving the highways of Pinal or Pima county. But stating the fact in terms of dollars is very difficult, due to marked reluctance of cotton growers to discuss the amount they have invested in camp housing. This reluctance, we may guess, springs from a guilty conscience over the poor quality of the labor camps, and past experience with unfavorable publicity in city newspapers.

The meager data which could be gathered in this study indicates, though it does no more than indicate, that the average cotton farmer in the region spends some $4,000 on his labor camp.[7] Actually an average of labor camp costs

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[1] Arizona Daily Star, Nov. 6, 1950.
[2] Tucson Daily Citizen, April 21, 1951.
[3] Sloter, n.d., p. 13
[4] Ibid., p. 17.
[5] Ibid., p. 23-27.
[6] Tucson Daily Citizen, Sept. 25, 1950.
[7] Data on original investment in labor housing was obtained

[Arizona Labor Camps]

means little because of tremendous variation in physical form of southern Arizona labor camps, which has been discussed previously.

AGE

A few of these temporarily inhabited rural villages run by cotton farmers on their farms have been used a long time--up to 40 years. But most of them are quite new since the great gamble on expanded cotton production is of very recent date: mainly during and after World War II. Most labor camps in Pima and Pinal counties have had little time to deteriorate.

Because construction differs so greatly, figures on age of camps have comparatively little meaning in terms of camp quality. The average in 1950 seemed to be about 5 years--6 years in Pima county where some camps in use a long time lengthened the average, and 4 years in Pinal county where the main expansion in acreage has occurred in years immediately past.[1]

LEISURE TIME

For 6 days of the week, the pickers are in the fields with the sun. On 5 days they quit work from about 3 p.m. to sun down, and are ready for sleep soon after eating an evening meal, although there is time for a little drinking or gambling for the men. On Saturday the evening is free after an afternoon shopping trip, and Sunday is a day of rest.

Cotton farmers show almost no realisation that their hands have any leisure time by providing recreational facilities. The only form of recreation provided in any of the camps studied by the writer was a base-ball field. These were generally simply cleared spots where ball could be played, and employees furnished their own equipment. Only about a seventh of the camps seem to have had even this elemental form of reacreation.[2] Of necessity, much

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from only 8 farmers in both counties. Their investment averaged $4,487.50 per farm, but since one farmer of the group had two camps, investment per camp averaged only $3,988.89.

[1] Based on information on 28 camps averaging 5.3 years old. Pima county: 17 camps studied averaged 6.3 years old. Pinal county: 11 camps studied averaged 3.8 years old.

[2] 3 of 21 labor camps on which data was obtained.

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The adulterated code is silent on the relationship of labor camps to unsurfaced roads, stables, or poultry runs. The water supply must be approved by the State Health Director or a local health department, with each family having access to 35 gallons a day which need not be delivered to the house, only within 50 feet of it. Only 1 shower head per 20 persons must be provided. Kitchens need not be separated from living rooms. Growers didn't succeed in seriously watering down provisions for labor camp registration with health authorities, supervision and inspection, fire protection and garbage disposal.[1]

Even this emasculated labor camp code scheduled to go into force before next picking season will eliminate many of the worst features found through the 1950 season. Many cotton growers realize the need for cleaning up their camps, and have joined in planning the new code, dragging their feet when cleaning up appeared to threaten their wallets too much. But some growers have joined with disgruntled urban groups to attempt to refer to a vote of the electorate for approval legislation passed by the 1951 legislature reorganizing several state departments, including a new Health, Welfare, and Correction department which would enforce the labor camp code. They have succeeded in referring the bills, which prevents them from taking effect as law until approved at the polls. So the recalcitrants apparently can put off action to improve their labor camps until after the boom-season of 1951, and slow down improvements by conscientious farmers who are willing to move, but move faster under official prodding.

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● 362 Papago Indians will benefit from improvement in camp conditions to the extent growers for whom they already work improve their labor camps. But over-all improvement will not aid the Desert People all it might. As pointed out earlier in this report, they choose their working spot not on the basis of the quality of the housing available in a farmer's labor camp, but on the basis of their personal relationship to that farmer. If he is a good man to work for, the Desert People return to his farm year after year, whether his labor housing is of the best or not--and frequently it is not. However, Papagos won't necessarily work for a farmer they like regardless of the type housing he provides. (ms

[1] Arizona Daily Star, May 14, 1951.

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362 farmer who provided tents for his pickers told the writer, for example, that while he felt he could recruit an Indian crew because he had worked on one of the reserves and knew most of the people, they like better housing and wouldn't stay.

HEALTH CONDITIONS

000 *Papago migrant workers living in labor camps in 1951 will not be exposed to as great a threat to their health as before.*

WHY

The head of the State of Arizona's postponed new Department of Health, Welfare and Correction, Dr. Clarence G. Salsbury, has been retained in his post as director of preventive medicine in the existing health department. He will undoubtedly do what he can in the regulation of labor camp health conditions. While Dr. Salsbury has retired from Ganado Mission Hospital (Navaho Reservation) he shows few signs of loss of energy. The interest and intervention of the State Department of Health to some extent during and definitely after the 1950 picking season was a new and wholesome factor in the labor camp health situation. This policy cannot help but lead to better conditions.

It is easily predictable that the State will not have sufficient inspection or preventive medical officers in the field to effectively control the situation. It simply was not appropriated enough money by the state legislature to handle the number of people that will be needed to pick the boom-year cotton crop. Nor is a special session of the legislature likely to provide more enforcement funds after the rebuff given the lawmakers in referring their reorganization bills. Obviously Papagos would be better protected if half their meager federal medical staff could be assigned to duty in